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EIGHT-PAGE CHRISTMAS NUMBER

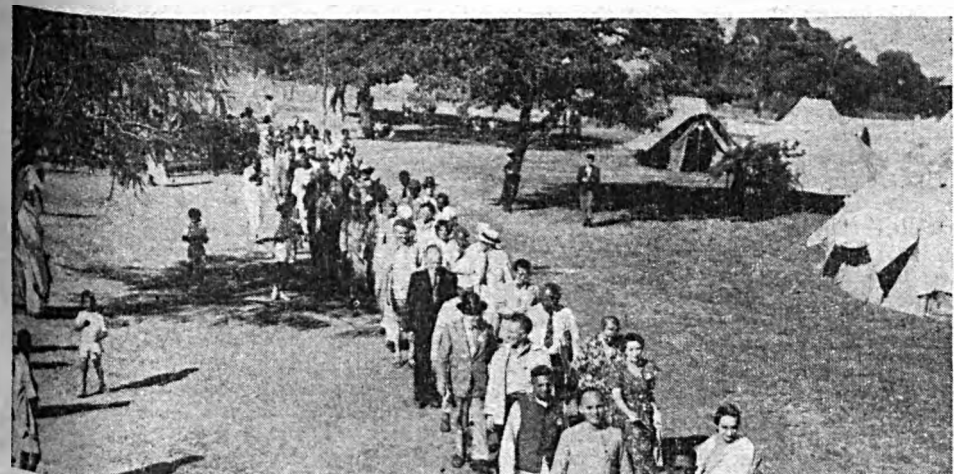
# PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 703

December 16, 1949

THREEPENCE



## World Pacifists discuss ECONOMICS EDUCATION OCCUPATION

**A**MONG messages read at the opening of the 2nd session of the World Pacifist Conference on December 4, was one from Michael Scott, whose championship of South-West African tribesmen before the UN Trusteeship Committee has aroused world-wide interest, saying he hopes to be present at a future session. The conference was meeting at Santiniketan, India.

The delegates then discussed Gandhi's Constructive Programme for India.

Sri J. C. Kumarappa compared Gandhi's economic principles with the orthodox, or what he called the "reservoir" economy. A system based on the former renewed itself by a natural process; the latter depended on resources that were exhaustive, such as coal and oil. Thus the latter system always lead to struggle to possess the sources of supply.

In our complicated civilisation few people had any idea how much violence was involved in the production of the things they consumed.

The revival of village life and village craft, with maximum self-sufficiency, would enable people to understand the system by which they lived and thus reduce violence to a minimum.

### Basic education

Great interest was aroused in the discussion on the new system of basic education.

E. W. Aryanayakan said Gandhi conceived the village as a republic providing its own wants and living as a co-operative community. In Gandhi's view, the really cultured people were to be found in the villages and the uncultured in the towns and universities.

At Sevagram 560 basic education teachers had already been trained and were working in all parts of India.

"If every child in the world is given the education it ought to have," he said, "there would be no money left for arms."

Vera Brittain asked whether any difference was made between men and women in basic education and was assured that sex was no disability.

### India's non-violent revolution

After the discussion of the constructive programme, there was a general feeling that thousands of workers were silently creating the second stage of the non-violent revolution, of which the first stage was the political movement which achieved political independence.

Later, several speakers asked for a definition of the term "self-sufficient community." One quotation read by Dr. Bose indicated that the idea of a self-sufficient community left room for interdependence of communities and constructive co-operation on a world-scale.

E. W. Aryanayakan said a clash of opinion was anticipated on the question of military training in Indian schools, especially in the north.

(Continued on page eight)

### Michael Scott in London today

REV. MICHAEL SCOTT is expected to address a Press Conference at the Friends International Centre, London, at 11 a.m. today (Friday). He plans to fly to India tomorrow to join the World Pacifist meeting.



Photo: Statesman, Calcutta.

### WORLD PACIFISTS IN INDIA

Delegates in procession to the open-air meeting place at Santiniketan. Vera Brittain, Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union and a Director of Peace News Ltd., is the second woman delegate from the head of the procession.

## A HAPPY CHRISTMAS!

You want good news—we've been looking for it. Here are a few items—

From GERMANY: Frankfurt's Christmas Fair was the scene of a strong demonstration by women against dealers who displayed toy pistols and pea-shooting wooden cannon.

This is historic, and covers a multitude of "German war-crimes."

From DENMARK: The Danish section of the War Resisters' International, in the December issue of their organ "Pacifisten," make a fitting reply, and a humorous one, to the offer of Marshall Aid:

"Dear Mr. Truman,—We Danes thoroughly appreciate the friendly interest the USA is showing in our well-being and security.

"But we think it is almost too much of a good thing that you should put your young men who are conscientious objectors in prison because they do not want to help us against the Russians; for even our own objectors are not imprisoned, but have the right to do civilian work instead of military service."

"Consequently we have a very bad conscience over the treatment you are giving American COs, and we would ask you, Mr. President, to use your powers to set free all such prisoners.

"With best wishes for a Happy Christmas and New Year. . ."

From WASHINGTON (whence alarm and despondency, rather than glad tidings, is wont to come): The aims of a newly established Committee for THE WORLD

ASSOCIATES are set out in a pamphlet—"Act Now—A Call to Moral Revolution."

Leading member of the Committee, Ervin D. Gibson, states: "We favour multilateral demonstrations and petitioning of governments, carried on incessantly, expressing the refusal of the world's people to participate in war.

"We believe unilateral action would achieve our purpose if any one nation would of itself renounce war, but we think that no one nation will do so. We stress, therefore, the necessity of a world-wide people's revolt against the war system."

The address of the Committee is Box 5582, Friendship Station, Washington, DC, USA.

From NEW YORK: What a correspondent describes as "a wonderful concert" was held at the Community Church on Dec. 8, when the two distinguished English pacifist musicians, Benjamin Britten and Peter Pears, provided an evening's music to about 700 highly enthusiastic people. The concert was sponsored by the For and the War Resisters' League.

From BELGIUM: Jean van Lierde, the Belgian CO whose imprisonment was reported in Peace News on Dec. 2, has been unexpectedly released.

The "Committee of Action" formed in Belgium after his imprisonment will continue its work of pressing for the release of other imprisoned war resisters and urging a statute amending the present military legislation to provide for the recognition of conscientious objection to military law.

From LONDON: A proposal to take further Government action for the protection of neglected or ill-treated children was supported from all sides of the House last Monday, thereby showing that politicians can rise above party interests on occasions.

From PEACE NEWS OFFICE: Most of the chief contributions to this issue were written for love, thereby showing what good people there are around.

"Is he a good example to children?"—Army officer

## ANOTHER YEAR IN GAOL FOR FRENCH WAR RESISTER

From BERNARD SALMON

I HAVE been assisting at the trial of J. B. Moreau, the French conscientious objector who was recently supported by a prison-gate demonstration by Garry Davis, on Dec. 6, at the Tribunal of Cherche-Midi.

Here was a man up against the law. The man had a gentle expression, full of kindness, straight, direct, honest; his declaration sounded strangely clear in a place accustomed to less educated arguments.

There were about 15 photographers and about as many journalists—this Tribunal had never seen so many before.

### A masquerade

From the very first words of the judge we realised quite clearly that this judgement was only a masquerade: J. B. Moreau was condemned in advance.

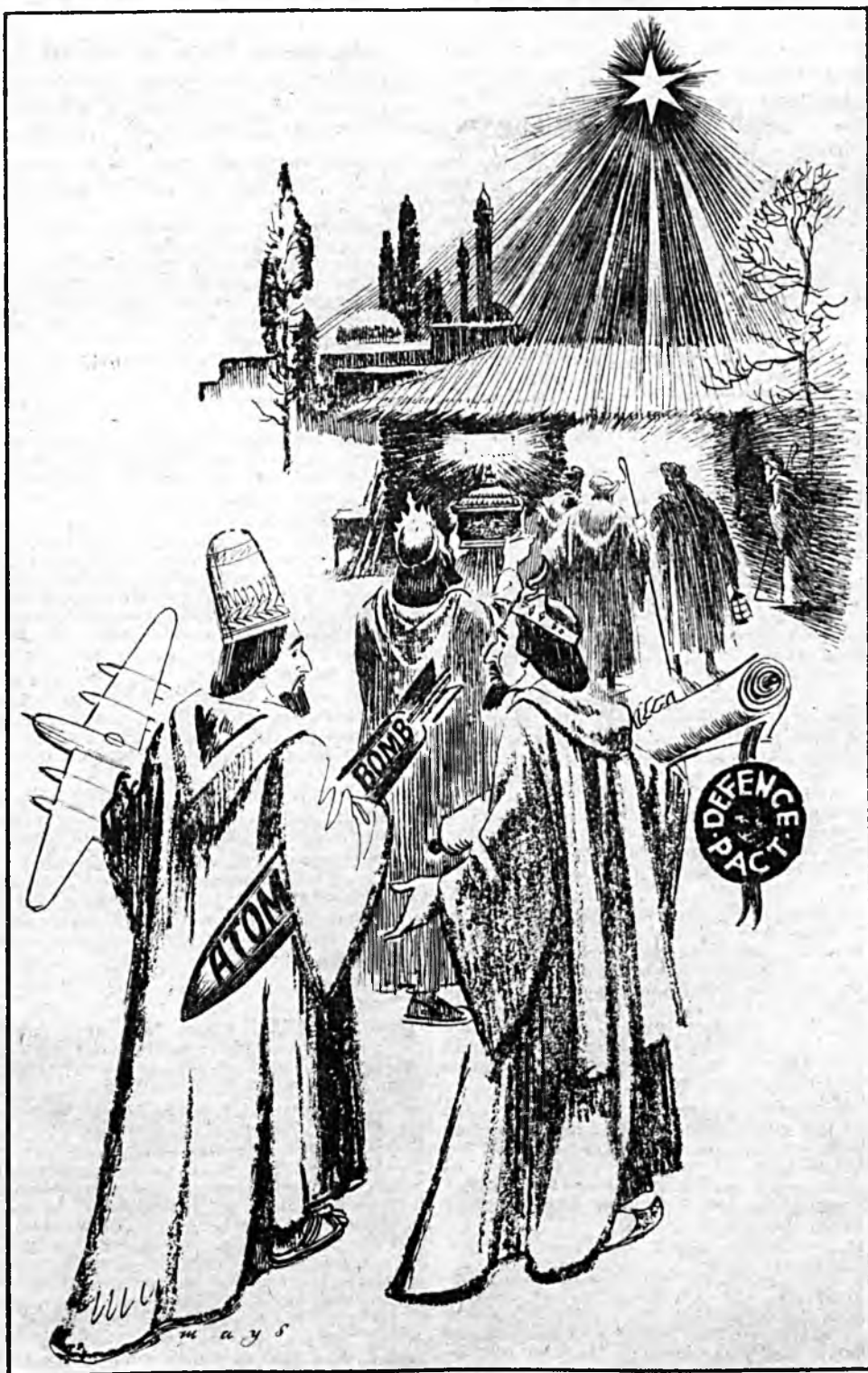
They accused him of "desertion." That didn't stand up. Moreau, his counsel, Marc Nez, the witnesses—everyone proved he had good reason.

We listened to his enormities: One officer asked—"Is Moreau a good example to the children?"

That officer would doubtless prefer children taught how to use bombs.

As they were unable to confound Moreau, the judge (who had foreseen everything) produced a bunch of false accusers. Marc Nez proved that and confounded the judges. He demanded Moreau's acquittal.

It was useless; Moreau was sentenced for the second time to a year's imprisonment. It is a gross scandal. Our friend has appealed, so we can do nothing but hope that the Supreme Court will revise this unique judgement.



—Mays

"I say, old man, do you think, after all, these gifts really are seasonable?"



## PEACE NEWS

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## Christ is born

**WE** do not know for how long men have been setting up illuminated trees in mid-winter and giving each other presents.

Long before the ancient Egyptians set up their Tree of Life and hung lamps and imitation fruit on it, men had realised that at this time of year a miracle happened. The earth had died and come to life again. Some beneficent Power turned up every year with the incredible gift of life.

But although we do not know when men began it, we do know why they did it. And we still commemorate that primordial delight, when prehistoric men realised the bounty that had fallen upon them and the infinite goodwill that enveloped them and their world.

It marks the greatest discovery man has ever made: the goodness of God. It was the dawn of human hope and gratitude.



What kind of impulse was it which so long ago moved Stone Age men to do to each other as their gods had done to them, and give each other presents?

We do it as a habit, because it has been done before. But once, men did it for the first time. Why should they?

We are apt to forget that all these familiar institutions which we take calmly as formalities began with some terrific experience which made an upheaval in men's lives. Without such first upheaval no customs lasts.

The significance of this custom lies in the nature of the experience in which it originated, namely, a sense of compulsion. Faced with such a striking manifestation of the purpose of divine power, man simply had to behave likewise.

And so today we celebrate that moment in history when man first knew that the unseen creator and ruler of life was his friend, and that therefore he had to be the friend of other men, and to give, because he had received.



Awe and wonder were in the ancient symbolism. But we have not to go back to any golden age of Neolithic innocence to revive the awe and wonder. For we know more than Stone Age men did about the goodwill that embraces creation. We know it as a love so great that it had to create a universe for its object.

Sometimes men try to improve upon the old phrase, "Peace on earth and goodwill to men," and say instead, "Peace on earth to men of goodwill."

The old phrase is the true one. The goodwill of God is not limited to those who have already felt it and found His peace. It is infinite and embraces even those in conflict against it; only so will the conflict ever cease.

So we have a new meaning to put into the ancient festival. Stone Age man felt God's touch upon his earth but he still felt God's life apart from his own. God has moved nearer since then. He has been born here. His spirit dwells within us and is born into the world anew with every child.



This is so miraculous that few believe it yet. But for the man who has seen the miracle, what can he give to other men that has been given to him? How can he signify his discovery of the holiness of human life?

He can give his own life. He can spend it trying to show to others the infinite goodwill that has been shown to him. His efforts are needed now as never before; for to such a man war is impossible. He cannot even quarrel without his anger returning as a sword into his own heart.

We are in a dark age, the mid-winter of an epoch. We may not yet have reached the darkest day of it. Therefore this is the very time to rejoice that Christ is born.

The latest books, pamphlets and periodicals (whether or not reviewed in Peace News) are always available from your own Booksellers

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# A UN Triumph : Public Ignorance of Economics : A Christmas Wish

A Commentary by ROY SHERWOOD

**W**ITHIN a week or so from this day the greatest success the United Nations have scored since they came into existence will receive its formal consecration.

In a ceremony to be held in Amsterdam before the end of the present month, the United Republic of Indonesia will receive its charter of sovereignty at the hands of Queen Juliana of the Netherlands.

Another colonial regime will have disappeared. Seventy more million people in the world will have gained the right to direct representation at Lake Success. One persistent danger to world peace emanating from south-eastern Asia, will have been removed, though others remain.

Unlike the cases of India and Pakistan, and others in the offing, this one had long been a concern of the United Nations. And it is unfortunately true to say that their success with it might not have been so complete if one of the great powers had been involved, instead of "little" Holland. But it is also true that an important precedent has been set up—already noticeable in its effects.

When the Security Council refused to act upon the Dutch contention that the dispute with the Jogjakarta Republic was a purely internal matter, it put a fact into the world no longer to be gainsaid or removed. South Africa may take some more time to learn that lesson. But she will have to come to it.

In the meantime Michael Scott has been heard by the General Assembly.

### Where are the teachers?

**I**T has been left to a Frenchman to put forward the most concise explanation of what is wrong with us and our wriggling efforts to put our economy right. Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber writes in the second of three articles, reproduced by The Manchester Guardian Weekly in translation from the Paris La Monde:

Trade Union leaders are demanding

an exceptional effort from the workers to meet the crisis; but the workers do not believe in a crisis. They are better off than they have ever been, and say "If this is a crisis, let it go on!" Without unemployment they do not recognise a crisis.

This is terribly true. But the workers are not to be held responsible for it. What means of learning better have ever been extended to them? How can they possibly be expected to realise the artificial Marshall-Aid-built and subsidy-supported nature of our standard of living.

Where, in this country or anywhere else, is the large-scale example of personal sacrifice that would constantly have to be in front of their eyes in order to make them feel in their bones what they cannot understand with their minds?

Before blaming the workers let us blame those who ought to have taught them, and not in theory only, the interdependence of all sections of a community, a nation and the world in general.

### What is education for?

**B**UT ignorance on that subject is general. Even the commonest facts of international affairs are unknown to most people. The writer of a recent letter to The Daily Telegraph reported the surprising answers he had received to the question:

"With what country do you associate (a) General Franco; (b) Marshal Tito; (c) Mr. Costello; (d) Dr. Evatt; (e) President Peron; (f) Dr. Malan; (g) John L. Lewis; (h) Mr. Paul Hoffman?" On Friday, Nov. 9, the same paper published this further letter:

I put the question Mr. O'Riordan mentions to my secretary, aged 22, (school certificate with credit; matriculation; finishing school abroad; top graduate from her secretarial college). Here are her replies: General Franco, France; Marshal Tito, Can't think, but I've heard of him; Mr. Costello, Ireland; Dr. Evatt, Never heard of him; President Peron, No clue; Dr. Malan, Never heard

of him; John L. Lewis, Don't know; Paul Hoffman, USA.

The writer of the letter signs himself "Appalled." He withholds his name "rather than lose a very good and pleasant secretary."

If that is the extent of knowledge of world affairs in a girl of good education, it is hardly reasonable to hope that the section of the community commonly called "the workers" should reach out beyond the primitiveness criticised by the French observer.

So it is not surprising that, less than five years after the ending of the last mass orgy of destruction, the first shipments to Europe of America's 1,000,000,000 dollars-worth of military goods should be announced for "some day next month."

Nothing is as crystal-clear as the fact that no peace movement in the meaning of the term as the pacifist understands it is to be hoped for from governments. Nor are they to be blamed for that any more than the workers are for their incapacity to understand the inward nature of Britain's economic difficulties.

### My Christmas wish

**A**ND now to Christmas. Against the all-pervading background of a flood of sentiment at this time of the year, I have to screw up my courage as high as it will go to say what is in my mind: that the most beautiful wish for others, written by the most agile purveyor of Christmas Card texts, is no adequate substitute for the dynamism of a resolution.

Mine therefore is an old Scrooge's Christmas Wish:

*May we all realise that wishes are cheaper than action; that sentimentality is the prostitution of feeling. May we never cease to strive for full knowledge and understanding of all the different kinds and races of people who have as much claim on the good things of this earth as we have—and may we not just say these things because it is Christmas, but practice them throughout the year to come.*

# "GOD'S GREAT JOKE"

By Rev. Paul Gliddon

Vicar of Shoreham, Kent, and Vice-Chairman of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship

**I**T was to one who is now a Roman Catholic priest that many conscientious objectors of World War One looked for leadership and guidance. London University had never before conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon a man so young as the ex-railway clerk, the Rev. W. E. Orchard, who had become a youthful pacifist in the Boer War and who brought into the 1914 movement the aid of a brilliant mind which had had sufficient time to think the whole pacifist problem out and to distinguish the fundamental from the accidental.

It was Dr. Orchard who summed up the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount as "a scramble for the bottom place," and spoke of the Incarnation as "God's great joke," which would perhaps make Christmas the day on which that joke was cracked.

\*

**T**HE point of the joke, of course, was that it made such nonsense of man's conception of power and glory.

Into a world which saw in material riches the wealth most to be desired, which saw power in the ability to force others to do as they were ordered, which saw in mighty armies the instruments of might, came God parading the only majesty recognised in heaven.

Hitherto men had assumed that they knew what power was really like, and that the more you had of their sort of power, the greater you were. Then, so it is said, God Himself arrived on the scene, born in a stable because the "House Full" notice had been put up outside the Bethlehem hotel, a helpless babe in a peasant woman's arms; later to be distinguished from other people in His obscure township as the Carpenter's Son.

It was hardly surprising that the Mother of Jesus was credited with having sung about putting down the mighty from their seats and exalting the humble and meek, for that was just what had happened. Indeed, when Christians came to think where kings fitted into the new scheme of things, they felt that the really appropriate place would be for them to kneel in adoration before the Infant Jesus and then to go their way.

Nor was it surprising that, as time went on, the whole point of the joke God had made got lost, for the joke was almost too rich to keep up and even the followers of Christ could hardly continue to believe that power could be as powerless as their Master made it out to be.

\*

**V**ERY regularly, and doubtless, very sincerely, the Church goes on talking about Almighty God, but largely it has forgotten wherein that mightiness consists and how it makes nonsense of all those conceptions current in the world.

For what is really taught is surely that God is love and that, being love, He is

therefore almighty, but only almighty because love alone is all the power which really counts and all else that seems like power is so much counterfeit.

The final citadel of a man is his will; if you have not captured his will, whatever you may do with his body, the man is still unvanquished. You have only proved him not invincible when you have persuaded him of his own free will to come over to your side.

That you cannot do until you have won his loyalty, and that, in turn, you can only do as you can make him feel that you really care for him, counting him neither as a slave nor as a servant but as a brother.

The fatal mistake pacifists make is that, starting off with the belief in reconciliation between those at enmity and in the brotherhood of all mankind, they go on to try to prove that a policy based on such ideas will necessarily succeed, that, if only men would give up material weapons, they would win a worldly peace. But this by no means follows, though it might quite conceivably prove to be the case.

No Christian pacifist, for instance, can guarantee that, if Christian people began to behave as their Master did, then, in a material sense, everything would come out all right.

Everything in the garden might indeed be lovely, but, perhaps, only lovely after the pattern of the Garden of Gethsemane.

The final victory of love is not that it makes all other things share its own loveliness, but that, whatever circumstances arise and whatever worldly wisdom may dictate, it remains itself, unshaken and unchanged.

\*

**T**HEREFORE, when we are asked whether pacifism would succeed, we can only reply that it all depends on what you mean by success.

The pacifist, who is, of course, strictly speaking the pacifist, or the man who believes in peace-making—only fails as a pacifist when he ceases to be a maker of peace. While he himself remains someone in whom peace is an active force, he has, to that extent, seen his labours crowned with victory. But he goes far beyond his brief if he tries to prove that, did a nation come to accept his position and disarm, it would necessarily never be attacked. It might be attacked but it would only be defeated if acting against its own convictions, it resorted to arms, at which very moment it would have been defeated, even though it then succeeded in slaughtering all who opposed it.

**I**T is the tragedy of Christmastime that something which is quite meaningless except as a declaration of the supremacy of spiritual values should have turned into a shopping season; a festival of food and drink.

There is only one place where the nations can learn wisdom and that is where the wisdom of God became a child, one of those to whom the kingdom is said to belong. The very place where Jesus is believed to have been born is one of the Holy Places now the occasion of such long and fierce quarrelling. There is talk about putting them under international control, and the very phrase is the measure of our fierce folly.

What alone can save the world is not the putting of the Holy Places under international control, but the putting of the nations under the control of the Holy Places, of Bethlehem, where we see the nature of divine almightiness, of Calvary, where we see the lengths to which unchanging Love will go in the hope of breaking through the unloving hearts of man.

### "GIVE HER TEN"

"GIVE her ten" is the way in which the cox of a racing eight calls for a special effort on the part of his crew. Ten extra specially good strokes . . . and they are home, with perhaps a record broken. We are as near our goal as that . . . as near to breaking a record. One extra special effort this Christmas time . . . and we are home.

I am quite certain that if I could only come round and see you all individually to ask you to help in this last effort for the year you would not refuse to give me something. I wonder how much it would be?

Will you imagine that I am standing in front of you and saying, "What will you give to help us reach our target for 1949 and break all records?" And then you put your hand in your pocket or your purse and see what you can spare. . . . But do not let the extra effort of buying a postal order, or writing a cheque prevent your making the response which you otherwise would.

We are so near our goal of £500 for 1949. We must not fail to reach it now. **YOU** please help? And in any case a very happy Christmas to you.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary

Amount received since Nov 25: £53 5s. 4d.

Total received to date: £466 15s. 4d.

Last effort required: £23 4s. 8d.

Donations to the fund should be sent to the marked "Headquarters Fund." to the Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Enderleigh St., W.C.1

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## ETHEL MANNIN reviews

# THE CHALLENGE OF CONSCIENCE

This "Story of the Conscientious Objectors of 1939-49" by Denis Hayes is so excellent a reference book that it is difficult to believe one ever did without it all these years

THIS "Story of the Conscientious Objectors of 1939-49" by Denis Hayes, with a foreword by Fenner Brockway—that gallant and indefatigable non-pacifist champion of CO's of all "denominations"—is so excellent a reference book that now that it is to hand it is difficult to believe one ever did without it all these years.

Denis Hayes was Publications Editor of the Central Board of Conscientious Objectors from 1941 to 1947, and his earlier work, *Conscription Conflict*, is well-known to pacifists. Fenner Brockway, socialist and anti-militarist, was one of the founders of the CBCO and was elected chairman—and he represented COs at no less than 54 tribunal hearings.

In his Foreword Fenner Brockway records the story and the work of the CBCO which stood "not for a particular form of conscience but for liberty of conscience itself, not for any set of convictions, but for the right to live according to one's convictions."

### The decline of "cat and mouse"

He records that there were 60,000 COs during the Second World War, and himself imprisoned as a CO in the first World War. He makes an interesting analysis of the treatment of pacifists in the two wars; there was less of the "cat and mouse" business which was such an ugly feature of the handling of COs in World War I, and "both legislation and administration were less harsh." Of the 54 cases he represented 49 were given acceptable exemptions.

There was, generally speaking, a fairer attitude on the part of the Tribunals of World War II, and "a greater respect for pacifism and conscientious objection." A great victory for personal liberty was gained by the COs of World War II when the Appellate Tribunals "after some hesitation... accepted non-pacifist political objections as conscientious objections."

### At the tribunals

Denis Hayes makes the whole story of the struggles, persecutions and triumphs, of COs as interesting as a novel, and he covers the complete field, from the tribunals, Local and Appellate, to release; he covers industrial conscription, and the case of the non-combatants and for the acceptance of civil defence, including fire-watching under compulsion.

In every instance he most admirably presents the case for the persons concerned—not his own views on the subject, and this is what makes the book so valuable a reference book.

There are interesting excerpts from the statements of religious and political COs, and passages of dialogue from the tribunals—some of the observations from the bench were astonishing in their fatuousness and illogicality, as for example the question to the young woman hairdresser as to whether she would object to taking any form of life, to which she replied Yes, followed by the inquiry, "Cannot you take insect-life?" to which she replied (doggedly, perhaps) No, which brought the banal comment, "And you a hairdresser!"

Published by Allen and Unwin, 15s. net.

## Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, December 15, 1939

Tomorrow a nation-wide drive to rally women to the cause of peace will be inaugurated with a mass meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, where the speakers will include Dame Sybil Thorndike, Vera Brittain, Ruth Fry, Mary Gamble, Mrs. Innes and the mother of a conscientious objector. Similar meetings, some accompanied by demonstrations, will also be held throughout the country.

"Not only are Russian women doing baby-bombing and air-fighting with the Red Armies in Finland..." So run the first lines of a big-print feature in the Sunday Express.

The Prime Minister has made things quite clear—first we are to win the war, then, he says, we can make a peace based on justice, equality, and freedom for all peoples; a peace that is "not another Versailles" upon which a new world order may be founded.

A just peace can result only through free negotiation and conference. That can happen now. It could not happen after a long period of war.

—David Spreckley

A. Joseph Brayshaw contributes a chapter "The Strange Occurrences at Dingle Vale"—that outbreak of anti-CO brutality at the Army training camp of that name, which occurred in the Autumn of 1940, and in the investigation of which Nancy Browne did so much good work (I still have a file of correspondence which she and I exchanged at the time, as I was making some efforts myself to bring the ugly matter to public notice).

### Violence at Dingle Vale

If I have any criticism at all of this excellent book it is that I would like to have seen some tribute made to Nancy Browne, and the work of the CBCO generally on the Dingle Vale affair, and the similar occurrences at that other notorious Liverpool Army training centre, Old College.

There are some useful appendices to the book, and a short bibliography, and the book throughout is well-documented and interestingly illustrated.

In a concluding chapter entitled "Though we had peace," the author makes his own contribution to the case for pacifism, and it must surely find an echo in the heart of

everyone who believes war to be a greater evil than any wrong it sets out to right—which is the stand of the present writer, now as during the war:

### "Though we had peace"

"... those who believe that the only effective way to a realisation of the brotherhood of man and to lasting peace is a refusal to participate in the mass extermination that war has become, must view with apprehension the decline in numbers of those who, after nearly ten years of compulsion, still take the stand of conscience... The pioneers of the First World War laid the trail through the steadfastness of their suffering, the COs of the Second followed as best they could—will the torch be carried clear and steady through the perplexities of the aftermath to ages yet to come? A tremendous responsibility rests upon each one of us to renounce any natural diffidence and to witness fearlessly to the supreme relevance of conscience's challenge... Dogged fidelity to the best that is within us can see us through to the time far distant when peace shall reign

## Mahatma Gandhi

By AYANA DEVA ANGADI

NO man, who was not the official Head of his Government, has ever commanded such universal respect and obedience, and no man has been followed, in dark days and bright times, with such steadfast loyalty and affection by so many millions of people as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the saint and the politician of India, was in his own country.

Thirty years ago he was referred to for the first time as the Mahatma (Man of Great Soul) by the late Rabindranath Tagore, himself no mean figure in India and in the world at large. Since it was Gandhi who fashioned the weapon of Satyagraha and for three decades led the unique non-violent struggle for National Freedom which was ultimately achieved in August, 1947, the grateful people and government of India call him "The Father of the Nation."

The Mahatma's work and teachings are enshrined in the motto of the official crest of Free India! Truth alone conquers. (Satyam Eve Jayate). Whatever else he may or may not have taught his people, he certainly taught them the much-needed virtues of self-respect, moral courage and national dignity.

As a visible token of their gratitude, a vast park is now to be built and a memorial column erected at Rajghat (Delhi) where the Mahatma's body was cremated, and which is today being visited not only by millions of Indian Pilgrims but by foreign diplomats and emissaries on their arrival in India. All over that sub-continent thousands of such statues and schemes are to commemorate the life and work of Mahatma Gandhi, who, after Gautama Buddha (563-483 B.C.) and the Emperor Asoka (reigned 273-232 B.C.) was the third greatest figure in the long annals of Indian civilisation.

### "Mouth-piece of conscience"—G.B.S.

Though on first hearing the news of Gandhi's assassination Mr. George Bernard Shaw characteristically said: "It shows how dangerous it is to be too good," he has also given, though in a less Shavian manner,

his considered opinion of Mahatma Gandhi's teaching of non-violence: "The moment violence begins men demand security at all costs; and as security can never be obtained and the endless path of it lies through blood, violence means finally the extermination of the human race. That is why the conscience of mankind feels it to be wicked and finally destructive of everything it professes to conserve. Christ, Buddha and Shelley, Tolstoy and Gandhi were the mouth-piece of this conscience; but though they did not revenge evil it can hardly be said that they did not resist it."

### Politics and religion

Gandhi too was a politician in his own way. "My motive throughout life has been purely religious. I could not believe in a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind. This I could not do unless I took part in politics. The whole Gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, political and purely religious worlds into water-tight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activities."

Elsewhere Gandhi wrote: "To see the universal and all-pervading Spirit of Truth face to face one must be able to Love the meanest of creation as oneself. And a man who aspires after that cannot afford to keep out of any field of life. That is why my devotion to truth has drawn me into the field of politics; and I can say without the slightest hesitation and yet in all humility, that those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means."

The many experiments in the life of this painstaking and energetic man included those on food, health, hygiene, sex, celibacy, nature-cure, as well as on social, economic and political philosophies.

In different ways he built Satyagraha Ashramas (Institutes to train Satyagrahis), in India like his "Phoenix Settlement" and "Tolstoy Farm" in South Africa; edited newspapers; organised one of the earliest Trade Unions of India, the principle of which is claimed to be the basis of the new officially sponsored Indian National Trade Union Congress; initiated the system of Basic National Education which is adopted in India today.

### Untouchables—Servants of God

He built nation-wide organisations for the uplift of the so-called Untouchables, whom he himself christened "Harijans" (Servants of God), organisations for reviving village industries and hand-spinning and for popularising Hindi as the national language of India; which the Free India has adopted as the official language though English also is retained for another 15 years; embarked on 17 fasts, and wrote in his "Guide to Health" that more people in the world die of over-feeding than under-feeding.

Gandhi had no separate or exclusive message for the people of the West, other than what could be culled and adapted from his Message and Movement in India. However, in one of his special references to the West he said: "In the West, politics are daily getting degraded because the custodians of religion and morality among Western people, the Church and the Clergy, are kept in their places, muzzled for fear of trenching upon the domain of the law—the Law and the Constitution. In this way, the collective life of the modern people who swear by the Law as against morality has been steadily going downwards."

Elsewhere he wrote: "Modern civilisation as represented by the West of today, in my opinion, has given Matter a place which



and war shall be but a curiosity of history. For our smallest action is not lost."

The italics are mine. I have italicised them because they seem to me "the heart of the matter," the light by which pacifists must order their lives in war or peace alike, and the light by which the world must ultimately live—or die. For we are now at that pass at which nations with conflicting ideologies learn to reject utterly the arbitrament of war as the solution of international problems—or perish utterly.

IN the first part of this article which appeared on Dec. 2 the author told of the early years of Gandhi's life and of his struggle in South Africa. The article is written for the many young readers of Peace News who know little of the great pacifist leader who was assassinated nearly two years ago.

by right belongs to Spirit. It has therefore put Violence upon the throne of triumph and held under bondage Truth and Innocence."

### Why the assassin struck

Early this year the trial of Mahatma Gandhi's assassin and his accomplice ended after seven months. It may be noted here that the Hindu Gandhi was assassinated not by a Moslem but by a fanatic of his own Faith.

It happened in this way. When at the time of the withdrawal of British Power in India in 1947, the country was unfortunately partitioned into the present Dominion of Pakistan and Dominion of India, Mahatma Gandhi, like other national leaders, spiritedly opposed this division. But when once partition became an accomplished fact, Mahatma Gandhi declared that he would henceforth devote all his time and energy to bringing about reunion. He set about doing this by trying to produce a change of heart and by making characteristic concessions to his opponents in Pakistan. Gandhi's assassin was one of a small band of Hindu people who thought that the Mahatma was being far too generous to their opponents at the expense of the Hindus. Thus the historic shot was fired.

Mahatma Gandhi's Mission had by no means been over with the achievement of Indian Freedom. Indeed, that particular task, however great it was in itself, was in a way only incidental to the great Mission, which later was to expound and vindicate Satyagraha or Soul-force as the only legitimate method of solving the world's problems.

We may be sure that he would not have rested on his oars even after India, his Motherland, had won her freedom. It is perfectly legitimate to suppose that Gandhi would not have hesitated for one moment to launch another one of his Civil Disobedience campaigns, if the altered circumstances demanded it, against the Government of Free India itself, as he so often did against the British Government in India in the past.

Still again he would have found more worlds to conquer with his technique of Satyagraha. How else could the deep-rooted ills in Asia and Europe be cured, say millions of the Mahatma's followers all over the world. How else to overcome the paralytic fear that has gripped the mind of the people today? Where is the ray of light in this gloom and darkness that hangs over the system and order that we are building: *Ex Oriente lux, ex Occidente lex.*

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# Peace on earth to

## VATICAN PAPER APPEALS FOR DISARMAMENT

**F**OLLOWING President Truman's statement that Russia had exploded an atom bomb, the Vatican newspaper L'Osservatore Romano made an appeal for disarmament by all nations. The translation printed below comes from Peace Action, the journal of the American National Council for Prevention of War.

**T**HE armament policy of "si vis pacem, para bellum" (if you want peace, prepare for war) was never before so complete a contradiction, so bankrupt a failure, as it was shown to be by the two world wars of this century which, to a great extent, it prepared and caused.

When groups are competing for expansion and hegemony, every increase of arms and armies on one side always brings a corresponding increase on the other side, leading to an inevitable showdown; because to prepare for war in order to have peace means that one group may never allow itself to fall into a position of inferiority.

In the face of this paradoxical policy carried over from olden times to the new—in spite of changed political conditions and circumstances which make it more unworkable than ever—in the face of this absurdity, the Popes, always consistent in the counsel and work of real peace, proposed and upheld the principles of disarmament.

### Disarmament "Utopian" ?

"Utopian," this principle of disarmament was called, particularly by those who, already well advanced on the path of armaments, did not wish to retrace their steps at a time when they hoped they were more or less close to their goal.

"Utopian" they called it, because such a policy necessitated good faith in everyone, a strict faithfulness to pacts, and—since it is well to have faith but more practical not to have faith—it also meant control.

And where, they asked, has control ever turned out to be exact, complete or certain? At customs houses or on streetcars, there are more people who escape control than who submit to it. Imagine, therefore, they said, where sovereign parties are involved, the countless possibilities of evading, on pacifist or even beneficent and scientific pretexts, the prohibition on arms.

### A new "Utopia" found wanting

Disarmament, therefore, they concluded, is Utopian.

Today we are face to face with a "Utopia" of armament, with the sole difference that this Utopia has, unfortunately, been tried and the other has not. It is a Utopia which has been tried and found ineffective, even in relation to its proposed "control."

At the moment, "atomic control" is the order of the day for those who are terrorised by their frightening inventions, although—obviously—control is open to all sorts of objections, scepticism, and, particularly, to the undeniable difficulty of being put into effect.

Thus, while railing against the atomic bomb, no statesman has hated it as much as he has claimed; rather everyone has tried to obtain the bomb for himself. Therefore, it is to be feared that each country—convinced of the uselessness of controls, although calling for them—will continue on its own way in the race to manufacture bombs, a race whose momentum would, obviously, lead to war.

This picture of the facts clearly reveals the profound menace of present realities and future possibilities, reveals it so clearly that few words should be wasted on it.

We face the complete paralysis, the absolute negation, which a war, in preparation or in action, has always opposed to peace and civilisation.

### The incredible cross-roads

The nations are arriving at the incredible cross-roads of the war system: either they

continue to weaken themselves by armaments, thus destroying the economy of nations and the world, or they escape from the arms race into war itself, employing their many "unproductive expenses" in the bloody interest of a hoped-for victory.

This is an interest which, by now, has been shown not to exist even for the victor, who emerges from the struggle as weakened as the vanquished, and who is obliged to lend in support of the vanquished the same hand that at first had been raised to strike.

Of this inexorable truth, Pius XII is a supreme proclaimer. On Feb. 8, 1949, he said:

"The use of a great part of the nucleus of uranium, of which we spoke in our discourse of Feb. 21, 1948, in reference to writings of the great physicist Max Planck (who died recently), has become a reality and has had its application in the construction of the 'atomic bomb,' or 'nuclear energy bomb,' the most terrible weapon which the human mind has, up to now, fashioned."

### Then—and now

"At this point we cannot refrain from expressing a thought which has constantly weighed on our mind, as well as on the minds of all who have a true sense of humanity; for this purpose there come to our aid the words of St. Augustine, in his work *De Civitate Dei* (1,19, c. 7), where he speaks of the horrors of war, even of a just war:

"Of such evils," he writes, "if I were to tell, in a proper manner, the many and multiple devastations, the harsh and cruel anguish, although this would be impossible to do as the subject requires, where would there be an end to the lengthy argument? . . . All those who view with pain these evils so horrible and so distressing, must acknowledge the misery they cause; but those who support them and think of them without anguish (of heart), who believe themselves to be happy, so much more unfortunate are they, for they have lost even human sentiment."

"If the wars of that time already justified such a severe judgment by the great Doctor, by what voice should we at present judge those which have stricken our generations and have employed, in the service of their work of destruction and extermination, an incomparably more developed technique?"

"What misfortunes could humanity not expect from a future conflict, should it appear impossible to arrest or stop the employment of the constantly new and constantly more surprising scientific inventions?"

### Facing suicide, man may choose disarmament

Should we leave it unmentioned that between the two roads of the "si vis pacem" policy, at its price, and of war at the price which it costs, there is also a third road: that of renunciation of this most terrible and inhuman weapon (as was done with poison gas) and disarmament?

We might, of course, keep silent in the face of constant repudiation of the admonishments of Christian teaching, the teaching which adheres so closely to a pacifist and non-militarist policy for the peoples. But if the voice of morality, justice, civilisation and humanity has not been heeded up to now because of human pride and passion, yet today, the policies, the arrogant reckonings, the egotistical self-assurance of men fall, stricken—it is proper to say—by the "atomic bomb."

Today it is our duty not to keep silent our faith in the third way, although it is the most disdained and neglected way. It is right to hope that it will ultimately be chosen; for humanity, as well as civil society, is faced with suicide. The conflicting sides are now facing the fate of the gladiator who, mortally wounded while he is killing, falls dead on the body of his victim.



A Babe is born



## THE INVASION

A true account by  
MURIEL LESTER

Travelling Secretary to the IFoR

**W**HEN victorious Russian troops entered Vienna there lived in the city a family of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Like many Austrians, they were Roman Catholics. A son had been killed on the Russian front. At home lived the parents and other children, including the beautiful teen-age daughter.

They knew that, as with most invading armies from whatever country they come, for a few days the soldiers would be allowed to do whatever they pleased. What then, should the family do? Strip the home bare and hide their possessions? And the daughter? Should she, as some neighbours were suggesting for their daughters, take poison rather than remain alive for military outrages?

Realising their plight the family considered what to do. The invading troops were boys hundreds of miles from home who might welcome an offer of home life. The decision accordingly was to hide nothing and prepare the house as for expected guests.

The lawlessness began. The crash of doors, shouts and screams, were often heard. Inevitably the family heard approaching footsteps. When the soldiers reached the door they found it ajar. This surprised them and took the first prop from under their designs.

They saw a man descending the stairs calmly and without fear. Out came another prop.

"Won't you come in? We've been expecting you. Coffee will soon be ready." Another prop gone. They stepped inside.

Across the hall stood a crucifix. Several crossed themselves. After all, one-third of the Russians are Christians. Coats and caps came off, guns came to rest on the floor. They went in to meet the family.

Coffee was soon served. Soon questions about the Russians' families brought questions about the young man whose picture stood on the piano. "He was killed in the war." "Where?" "In Russia."

The mother went to the piano and commenced playing folksongs.

Soon the room was filled with song and the mission of the Russians forgotten. Thus time flew until the guests remembered they would be due in barracks. Thanking the family for a wonderful time, they asked if they could come again.

"Please do," was the reply, "and bring your friends!"

## Christmas Mages

### THE BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM:

**I**T seems to me that at the present time there is efforts to preserve the peace of the world. I am sorely disappointed that the efforts have led to a failure of conferences which have led to a prohibition of atomic weapons. We cannot see that the world is not making the progress that we would desire; in darkness and, without it, the world would be intense.

### RHYS J. DAVIES, MP:

**A**LL the Great Powers are preparing for the hope, we presume, that the war will not occur. When weapons are provided by the Great Powers, they will class whose occupation would be to prepare for war.

This, therefore, is to wish for the end of the military medium which represents our deepest fears on the earth and Peace.

### CECILY COOK, OBE:

**I**N friendly reminder that despite the war talk in many countries, the great fund of goodwill between common people everywhere, co-operation, help to build a nobler world.

### REGINALD W. SORENSON:

**T**O refer to the "Season" of goodwill and peace, we should draw on a special occasion for a while times on harsher beverages.

History would seem to verify the fact that, in times of transcendence, Thomas Hardy's "Consciousness" till it fashions all things fair, "which can interpret illumination we can resolve our human conditions."

To that end Christmas brings the time of reconciliation. A dualism issues from the incarnation of fulfillment. And with that, we confront a realm of vision and the privilege of energies toward a vital peace.

Yet the continuous task will be to work or worship in dark obscurity, the most mysterious economy of God.

A stable outhouse may be the most significant ultimate palace of assembly.

## THE NEWEST CHUB'S

By Alfred Hassler

**T**HE Chief Celestial Statistician's eyes shone benignly—as all eyes shine Up There—as he peered down at the Newest Cherub. "The Lord," said the Chief Celestial Statistician, "wants a Christmas poll—how people feel these days about His Son's birthday. Like to try taking a poll. Little one?"

"Mm-hm," said the Newest Cherub happily. "I'll find out about Peace on Earth and all that. huh?"

"And all that," agreed the Chief Statistician soberly.

**T**HE golden stairs run straight down from the Celestial Gate, but they do not always end at the same place, and the Newest Cherub peered eagerly downward to see where he would land.

"I'll bring back a grand report," he told himself gleefully. "The Lord's been looking a little sad lately, but I'll cheer him up for sure."

A moment later he passed a sign spread on a small cloud, reading:

"United States of America, Earth," and then another, that said—"Oak Ridge, Tennessee!"

"Hey, said a puzzled voice, 'where'd you come from?'"

The Newest Cherub looked at the guard and his rifle and the barbed-wire fence. "I'm making a survey on peace," he explained doubtfully. The guard laughed. "You've come to the right place, sonny," he said. "We make peace here—an atom at a time. Peace on earth or no earth—that's our motto!"

But the Newest Cherub's face was white, and his wings stood rigid with dismay. "But that wasn't what He meant," he cried. "That wasn't what He meant at all!"

**S**ENATOR JINGO'S secretary slapped a long piece of paper down on the desk and scowled at the Newest Cherub.

"Frankly, young man," she said,

"people who are usually crackpots, and you fill out a questionnaire, and then take a survey on peace, and maybe the survey is what five minutes on earth." "But, what's the Newest Cherub as he read the Daily Worker? It was supposed to be good will to all men."

The Newest Cherub had dejectedly behind a pillow in the Department Store and watched the streams of people hurrying to time a shopping trip. He scowled at him if he couldn't find a better way to do than get a survey.

It was the faces of the day before Christmas, hurried and the shoppers, but rarely tired and the Newest Cherub sighed as he and then

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## Pre-atomic equals prehistoric

By JOHN S. HOYLAND

IT is astounding how much of our thinking in this country (in contrast to that in the United States) shows an almost complete ignorance of the fact that human history changed radically and finally on Aug. 6, 1945, when the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima.

The greatest living scientist, Professor Einstein, whose discoveries made the atomic bomb possible, pointed this fact out almost as soon as the bomb was dropped: and has never ceased since that moment to insist that its dropping marked a radical change in man's environment, and that he must adapt himself or perish.

But on this side of the ocean, at any rate, people seem as capable of understanding this fact as they are capable of understanding Einstein's theory of relativity! I have just been reading, for instance, a memorandum on peace-building, produced by an eminent authority, which totally ignores the fact that for more than four years we have been living in the new post-atomic era, and that, in this era, humanity has got to be planned for as a whole, without the now meaningless (and murderous) national divisions of the past, for otherwise there is no future at all ahead of us.

When the Ice Age came on, it was dangerous, in fact fatal, for man to behave as he had done in the sunny preceding epochs. He had to conform or freeze.

When the wolf came westward across Eurasia, as some authorities believe he did, man had to conform his living-patterns to the new conditions, on pain of becoming merely digestible material!

When firearms became general, the pike-man and the longbowman had to learn to shoot with the new weapons, or they got shot.

When the atom bomb was dropped, it was a cosmic signal of the fact that, nearly two thousand years after Jesus Christ had lived and died for the World-Sovereignty of God and had denounced national sovereignty, which means the claiming of the right to make war, we have got to take Him seriously, to federate on a world-scale, in order to end war, or war will end us all, and perhaps the planet with us.

On Aug. 6, 1945 the ancient phrase mis-translated "Kingdom of God," which really means the World-Sovereignty of God, suddenly leapt into urgent significance as the one hope of the survival of mankind.

### CHRISTMAS ARRANGEMENTS

THERE will be no change in our publishing arrangements. Classified advertisements, however, must be received by Friday Dec. 23 for insertion in the issue dated Dec. 30.

Peace News office, which is now open on Saturdays from 9.30 to 1 p.m. will be closed from Friday night Dec. 23, to Wednesday morning Dec. 28.

By our Naval Correspondent

Rear Admiral Sir  
**ARCHIBALD OWLGLASS**  
(Retd)

## NAVAL OCCASION

ALL Englishmen with a proper pride in our seafaring traditions will have been profoundly moved by the Press accounts of the recent ceremonial sinking of the 150-year-old HMS Implacable.

What struck one first about these reports was their corroboration of the truth of the ancient doctrine of Animism, which ascribes a living soul and personal attributes to inanimate objects.

Here is an old wooden ship which, when faced with destruction, suddenly leaps to life and starts displaying human characteristics.

"The Implacable," we read, "Dies Hard . . . Fights Back . . . Goes Down Fighting . . . was Game to the Last . . . The old ship fought back until they tore her apart . . . In her last hour she made a new title for herself—the ship that refused to allow the Navy to sink her . . ."

Twenty journalists can't be wrong. She became a personality, and was treated accordingly. They saluted her, cheered her, gave her flags to wave, played the Last Post over her and gave her a slap-up funeral with lovely obituary notices.

I didn't gather that a Chaplain read the Burial Service over her, but he ought to have done. If Bishops bless battle-ships when they begin life they ought to pray over them when they end it. Particularly when they've become human in the meantime.

MOVING though the ceremony was, however, I must confess it has left me a prey to serious misgivings.

The Will of God, at work in history, for peace, freedom, justice, brotherhood, goodwill, can only be implemented as we create, by His help, a world-control capable of holding and using aright the apocalyptic new discoveries in physics and biology, which at that moment, suddenly switched warfare from an expression of national sovereignty to the mass-suicide of mankind.

Such a world-control, to be viable, must be founded on Law—which means, not on the fiat of a dictatorship, but on the reasoned good-will of humanity as a whole expressed through democratic and federal institutions. The creation, before it is too late, of such institutions is the great task of the Kingdom of God laid, in the extremity of urgency, upon our generation.

Einstein, the man beyond all others who has brought about this catastrophic change, is calling us to that task. But behind Einstein are the unborn children of the future, who will never have birth unless we listen to his summons.

Behind Einstein also hangs the Son of Man, still on His Cross, still crying Follow Me. That following means once more the proclaiming of the Kingdom—the World-Sovereignty—of God. It means once more the urgent summons to Awake—to realise that pre-atomic thinking is not merely pre-historic, but pre-Christian and suicidal.

Although it is Christmas **FRANK HANCOCK** will write about

## COFFIN SHIPS

AT the opening of this century we who were then youths were put aboard our generation's ship, and she floated out on to the sea of public life. We had no reason (in say 1900) to suspect that she was not seaworthy. We never gave that thought.

We enjoyed our games on the sports deck, we attended lectures and divine service, and got on with our careers. The ship foundered in 1914 and millions of passengers perished. A new generation was launched on a new ship which floated out (say in 1925). The sports deck was larger, the lectures only moderately attended, divine services were fewer, and youngsters entered on their careers with less confidence than their fathers. The ship was even more luxuriously fitted out. There were more lifeboats for privileged and elderly passengers, the survivors of the first wreck.

The ship's company tried to forget that previous catastrophe. But there were some ship's officers who were for ever demanding more physical training for the youths, on the assumption that the boat might founder like its predecessor, and training and discipline would give them a better chance of survival. A few cranks aboard warned passengers, in season and out of season that the boat would sink, but they were reckoned as public nuisances.

A more popular group of well-concerned people formed a Society for Collective

## WORD OF HONOUR

THE most important fact in time Day. All previous happenings, future events were to spring from it.

But what is its true significance? I am not here concerned with doctrinal questions associated with the Nativity, but with the fundamental meaning of Christmas for all men everywhere.

Those of us who speak in the open air are accustomed to those questions which seek, by quoting texts, to show either that the Bible is a warlike book, or that Christ himself actually used violence. It is unfortunately true of many leaders of the Church that though they may not adopt the particular method of the heckler, their arguments become much the same.

It is little use arguing in terms of isolated texts. But what of the broad sweep of the Bible as a whole?

The Old Testament is the record of man's discovery of God.

### Journey to maturity

It is all rather like the schoolboy who finds the headmaster a remote and terrifying person rarely seen except for purposes of punishment and reward. He then comes to know him as one who has a particular concern for the life of the school and may perhaps even be seen on the touchline anxious about the victory of the school team—and concerned not only about the victory but also about the way the game is played. Finally, if he stays at school long enough, the boy may come to know his headmaster as a real friend.

But it is not the headmaster who has

is the one associated with Christmas had moved towards that event—all changed; it is the boy who has been growing up, and the true picture of the headmaster is the one he is left with at the end of his experience.

So with man's discovery of God. God does not change, but man begins by regarding him as the aloof and terrifying arbiter of punishments and rewards, then as the leader in battle bringing victory, and finally the sense of the person who is man's friend begins to emerge.

God's character, method and purpose cannot be judged at any of the intervening stages. He is what he comes to be in the final stage. And lest there should be any doubt of this God speaks to man in man's own language and "The Word is made flesh."

But here again there is a developing process. Not only has the child to grow into the man, but men have to learn from their

By

**STUART MORRIS**

General Secretary to the  
Peace Pledge Union

different angles how to appreciate the truth about Him, and that truth is not to be judged of in this text or that, but in the broad tenor of His whole life. It is the word fulfilled in the life which is even more important than the word spoken by the mouth.

### When violence was rejected

What Christmas means is that God has given his word. We know what we mean when we say, "I give you my word." Christ is precisely that: God's word of honour.

If men would think less of theological differences and more of the literal life of Christ himself we might get nearer the truth.

Here is one born under a foreign government in an occupied country where nationalism is strong and the desire for freedom the sign of all true patriots. They tried the method of violence without success, but knowing no other way, still looked to the Messiah to bring them victory. Christ's obvious power of leadership seemed to single him out for this, and perhaps it was his refusal which marked the Cross as the alternative ending. If he would not sanction killing he must accept the alternative of willingness to die. For if anything is worth while you must believe in it so much that you must be prepared either to take life for it or to give life for it.

There were many arguments in support of the first way. Was his way not jeopardising his own dear ones? Was he not showing indifference to those whom he might benefit by his healing powers? Was he not betraying his cause by refusing to overthrow the aggressor?

All these problems men must face today if they think in terms of expediency or convenience. But there is no problem of that kind for Christ. God has given His word, and his word is Love.

Without meaning to be unkind, I may say that many of our Christmas cards suggest that we want Christmas without the need for understanding or concurring in what it really means.

### The Archbishop and the bomb

That also is what our Churches appear to want. Let me illustrate what I mean. The Archbishop said recently that if we find that agreement with Russia is at present out of the question, the only course will be for the democratic nations to bind themselves not to be the first to use the atom bomb, but to take immediate action against any nation which uses it (where that means retaliation by use of atom bombs).

He concludes: "If individual nations promised never to use the bomb they would be at the mercy of a hostile state which had no such scruples."

Previously he had said, "When the Christian has done all in his power to preserve peace, and war is forced upon him by aggression or injustice, he may with a good conscience bear arms in defence of international justice . . . When it is impossible to have both peace and righteousness, the way of righteousness must be followed at all costs!"

This argument must be answered—and the answer comes in the word of God. It is at the manger that "mercy and truth have met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other."

The Archbishop does not mean at all costs. He means at the cost of killing others. It is Christ's way which is "at all costs."

If the only course in the unfolding purpose of God was to meet violence by violence He would have remained the God of Battles and there would have been no Christmas morning.

If a Christian may bear arms when challenged by injustice, why did not Christ choose that method? God has given his answer, and it takes shape in a child.

God has given His word—not peace at any price, but love at all costs; and the assurance that though the love that begins at the manger must lead to the Cross it is only by that way of non-violent resistance that evil can be overthrown and love triumphant.

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# DID DISARMAMENT CAUSE WORLD WAR II?

## NEW ZEALAND APF group is growing

A NEW ZEALAND Group of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship formed a year ago, now has 31 members, writes the Rev. R. P. Taylor, vicar of Kaiapoi, and Chairman of the N.Z. Group in a letter to fellow members in Britain which has arrived in London. In his letter he says:

"We APF members believe in the Holy Catholic Church and our pacifism is, we are convinced, just an implication of the Catholic Faith. Our task is to pray and work for the conversion of the Church so that it may have the faith entirely to renounce war."

### Distinguished leaders

"We must be patient about it. Let us be very thankful too, for the distinguished leaders of the APF, both of the past and present. It is no small comfort to the majority of us who have no claim to distinction, to know that our leaders in the APF are of scholarship and good repute."

The news that Archdeacon Hartill, the Fellowship's chairman and vicar of Stoke-on-Trent, England, refused to have a Battle of Britain service in his church last September was printed in a number of N.Z. newspapers. It gave much encouragement to the country's small pacifist minority.

**Q** "You advocate disarmament, but was it not because we disarmed after the first world war that Hitler was able to start the second world war?"

**A** It is necessary to distinguish between disarmament and a reduction in arms. It is true that we reduced our armaments after the first world war, but we never disarmed. There is a great difference between reducing and disarming—a difference in motive, in policy, in method, and in consequences.

During the war of 1914-1918 the fighting forces of all the participating countries were, of course, enormously increased by conscription and every other means. The end of every war is bound to see a reduction in the abnormally large armies. But under the Treaty of Versailles it was recognised that future peace depended upon disarmament, and Germany was compelled to disarm, and subsequently satisfied the international commission of the League of Nations that she had fulfilled her obligations.

More than once Germany was assured that her acceptance of these conditions

was meant to lead to general disarmament. None of the victorious powers kept their side of the bargain. Lloyd George on Nov. 7, 1927, said that the nations which had pledged themselves to disarm had taken no such steps, and on Nov. 24 he told the House of Commons that Britain was the only country in Europe that was spending more money on armaments.

**Why Lord Cecil resigned**  
The most general proof lies in the failure of the Disarmament Conference—a failure due to the fact that the representatives of the governments concerned were thinking only in terms of a reduction in armaments and wanting to abolish only those weapons which were of the least use or constituted the greatest danger to themselves.

Lord Cecil resigned his office in the Government because he said he was compelled by instructions to maintain propositions in the preparatory commission for the Disarmament Conference which he could not reconcile with any serious desire for the success of its labours.

It is worth while remembering today that the only proposal that the Conference should really discuss disarmament came from the Russian delegation. One result of this failure is to be seen in the words of Sir Arthur Keith:

"The Conference proceedings can hardly be said to have given Germany much hope of a successful outcome and their abrupt withdrawal from the Conference and the League in October, 1934, was not unnatural."

Subsequently being refused equality on the basis of disarmament, Germany determined to seek it on the basis of armaments, and helped by both British and American money the new race for armaments was begun.

**Britain's fateful choice**  
Actually all the time the British Government was trying to make the best of both worlds—refusing to face the risks which would be involved in real disarmament and to make the sacrifices which would have been necessary to establish peace by removing the root causes of war, and on the other hand not being willing to put to the country the consequences of a full re-armament programme. If Great Britain had been ready to make the same concessions to the Weimar Republic as we subsequently made to Hitler, if we had taken steps to prevent the disastrous unemployment and deflation in Germany, the conditions would never have arisen within which it was possible for Hitler to come to power and re-arm Germany.

Pacifists cannot be blamed for the result of a policy of a reduction in armaments, for that has never been the pacifist solution. They cannot be blamed for the result of a policy of complete disarmament, for that has never been attempted.

The truth is that a reduction in armaments is no policy at all, and from every point of view only invites disaster. The real choice is between war and pacifism. If you believe in the method of war and are ready (though it be only in the last resort) to use that method, then it is surely obvious that you should be as well equipped as possible. That means utilising all the productive capacity of the nation primarily for armaments, accepting conscription, industrial as well as military, and spending all our resources on perfecting the military machine. That, of course, means intensifying the race in armaments and getting not peace, but war. Viscount Grey, when he was Foreign Secretary, said:

Great armaments lead inevitably to war."

**War is not a solution**  
There will be no solution of our difficulties and problems in a future war, any more than there has been in a past war, but only the intensification of them. The alternative is not a mere reduction in armaments; it is total disarmament carried out not as a matter of expediency or economy, but as a question of principle; the refusal to use the way of violence; the changed motive which leads to the changed method, which would involve also a changed policy.

The whole of our foreign policy would have to be changed if we no longer relied on war as a method of settling disputes. It is that changed motive, method, and policy that makes possible the kind of constructive peacemaking which alone could have prevented the second world war and alone can save the world from a third.

## JAPAN JOURNEY—6

### NEW USE FOR A CASTLE

**F**OLLOWING the August 6 World Peace Day Celebration in which our work camp group took part as spectators only, we were invited by the Hiroshima Peace Association to participate in a "ground breaking ceremony" for the "World Peace Centre."

This according to Rev. Tanimoto's dream will grow on the site of the ancient Hiroshima castle which after several centuries of militant history was knocked down like a pile of match sticks by the atom bomb.

The Peace Centre is conceived as a foci

of learning, research, and propaganda where world peace will be studied and promulgated. It involves colleges, libraries, a cathedral, a hospital, and other institutions . . . a sort of a hot house for the delicate and difficult culture of the flowers of goodwill and understanding which we hope will someday crowd out the thorny and evil-smelling war-producing weeds of hatred.

I do not yet see just how it is supposed to function but I do believe in boosting every legitimate and intelligent effort in the right direction; so I took the be-ribboned shovel in hand, when my turn came, and tossed in an extra shovelful of atomised soil for the good of the cause.

If we could just take all the West Points and Sandhursts of the world and in some way turn them about facing the opposite direction, like the story of the quick-witted hunter who when charged by an open-mouthed lion thrust his arm down the lion's throat, grabbed him by the tail and neatly jerked him wrong side out, we would be getting somewhere.

I know of no more appropriate site for such a Centre than on the massive stone foundations of the Hiroshima Castle which fell down under the big bomb.

That memorable August evening I sat on the great wall of cut stones which sweeps upward from the lotus-choked waters of its surrounding moat in a graceful curve and looked across the ruined city. Gutted buildings still bare their skeletons to the sky and miles of poor shacks crowd the spaces in between.

I held Koko-chan, doll-like daughter of the Tanimoto's in my lap. Koko-chan, then a tiny baby, had been pulled by her mother from under the roof tiles of their shattered home and carried through the fires to safety on that terrible morning just four years ago. Fortunately she was unhurt.

I looked at the pathetic city and at the hopeful people who were dedicating it to a new era of brotherhood and peace and I looked at the baby in my arms. I wondered then, and I wonder now, if organisations and institutions will ever build a peaceful world. I think the real hope lies in a new generation of right-thinking people . . . in the little Koko-chans of the nations.

By Floyd Schmoe

As a gesture of international friendship, a party of Americans led by Professor Floyd Schmoe of the American For, is visiting Japan on a project to help build houses for some of the innocent victims of the war. The cost is contributed by interested Americans and the scheme is under the care of the Japan Yearly Meeting of Friends.

### WELCOME GUESTS?

A new Ceylon Army, to take over the British Army's duties in the Dominion, will be formed in 1950 and ultimately be 3,000 strong. For the time being, British forces are to remain "as welcome guests, with authority for control only among themselves in specified areas."

## THE INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE

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## Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent to us. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

**Saturday, December 17**  
LONDON, W.C.1: 10.30 a.m., from 6 Endsleigh Street: Anti-conscription poster parade and leaflet distribution; PPU.

**Sunday, December 18**  
NEWCASTLE: 7.30 p.m. Socialist Hall, Royal Arcade, Pilgrim Street: Public Election Meeting; Stuart Morris, David Gibson, National Chairman, ILP, and Fred Hall (ILP candidate for Newcastle Central); ILP and PPU (War Resisters').

**Monday, December 19**  
LONDON, W.1: 7 p.m. Weigh House Church, Binney Street (nr. Bond Street Tube Station): No Conscription Council, London Branch Meeting; NCC.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. It is not necessarily the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is a weekly organ, nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement or PPU connexion with the matter advertised.

**Thursday, December 22**  
LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

**Thursday, December 29**  
LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

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## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

### MEETINGS

ENGLISH (OLD Roman Catholic) Rite. December 27, 28, 29, 30, 11 a.m., room over Prince of Wales, Carol Street, N.W.1. (close Camden Town Station). All welcome. Parish Priest, 113 Lancelotti Street, W.10.

WEIGH HOUSE CHURCH, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube). Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

### ACCOMMODATION

ACCOMMODATION AVAILABLE. Vegetarian and diet reform. Others welcomed. Sea front, small village. Innisfree, St. Mary's Bay, Ashford, Kent.

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MISSIS ANNE Horner and Beatrice Farnsworth beg to announce that Highfield Guest House, The Heads, Keswick, is now entirely vegetarian. All are welcome. Vacancies for Xmas and the New Year. Phone Keswick 508.

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WRITER. 32. Austere habits, seeks room. London. Box Number 113.

YOUNG PACIFIST couple, with two children, desperately need unfurnished accommodation Birmingham or district by February. Box 112.

### EDUCATIONAL

SPEAKING & WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit) 5s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

### FOR SALE & WANTED

COLOURFUL HANDPAINTED calendars (2s. 6d.). Envelopes. Giddings, "Patholm," Mornington Crescent, Haggerley, Essex.

THE LATEST books, pamphlets and periodicals (whether or not reviewed in Peace News) are always available from your own Booksellers, Housmans Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4. Send s.a.e. for latest list.

UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY: £1,500 for partnership in flourishing fruit and vegetable business in Bristol. Wholesale and Retail. Modern flat available and immediate wage. Box 112.

### LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd. London.

### PERSONAL

MARRIAGE BUREAU offers unrivalled personal service. Details free—Mary Blair (room 59), 147 Holborn, E.C.1.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

Situations are available only to applicants excepted from the Control of Engagements Order, 1947, No. 2021.

A GARDENER interested in organic methods of cultivation wanted for Vegetarian Guest House. Write Arthur Mann, Mount Avalon, Glastonbury, Somerset.

ACCOUNTANT REQUIRES junior clerk (young man preferred). Previous experience not essential—some travelling. Write with full details of age, salary required, etc., to W. G. Barlex, 3 Huggins Hill, London, E.C.4.

WANTED FOR Co-education Children's Home, Near London. Married Couple: wife as cook and domestic, husband as handyman. Attractive room. Joint Wages £25. Box 109.

### SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

FIRST-CLASS duplicating, etc. Mabel Eyles, 29 Rokesby Avenue, London, N.8. MOU 1701.

JOURNALIST (19), at present on Peace News, seeks "Work of National Importance," preferably, but not necessarily, connected with writing, to fulfil CO condition. Wide interests. Box 110.

### MISCELLANEOUS

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

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## T A Employer tells tribunal : THIS CO IS ABSOLUTELY SINCERE

WHEN 18-year-old James Sheldon appeared before the Birmingham CO tribunal on December 1, his witness was the managing director of the printing firm where he is employed.

Mr. J. H. Demel, the manager, and a member of the Territorial Army for 24 years, declared: "I did not believe there were such people as conscientious objectors until I met this boy."

"I am astounded by the intensity of his purpose, and I want to testify to his absolute sincerity. He has been a good influence already," he added.

The tribunal ruled that James Sheldon, a member of the Four Square Gospel Alliance, be exempted from military service on condition he undertook either land or hospital work.

A report of this case was given prominence in two Birmingham evening papers.

Among other boys who were given conditional exemption were William Bennett, of Kelham, Newark, apostle of the Society of the Sacred Mission; David Bilbie, of Nut-hall, an apprentice-electrician; and Bernard Parfement, of Netherfield, a painter and decorator, and member of the Evangelical Free Church.

## Non-violence group to meet in London

THE first meeting of the Non Violence Group formed at the Peace Pledge Union's "Steps to Peace" Conference will take place on Saturday Jan. 28, at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. at 2 p.m.

Sybil Morrison will open a discussion on the future work of the group and the best way in which it can serve the cause of pacifism.

A warm invitation is extended to all who are interested in this important aspect of PPU work. No tickets are required.

The Hon. Secretary to the Group is Mrs. Ethel Lewis, The Manse, Brill, Aylesbury, Bucks.

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## A CHRISTMAS MESSAGE FROM THE SOVIET UNION

A member of the War Resisters' International living in the USSR writes:

No-one in Russia wants war and will ever start it. We cannot understand why American and British Press and Radio try to terrify the people of their countries that USSR is planning aggression on Western European countries. We in the USSR do not think of war, all we want is that we should be left alone. We hope that the people of Western Europe and the USA will not be deceived by their governments and if war should break out, they will not

take part in it. The world is so large that there is plenty of room for all to live in it, without bloodshed and hatred.

If common people had a voice to decide, war or no war, I am sure they would vote against war, for peace and brotherhood of all nations. It is the duty of the WRI to support all men and women who are against war.

I wish you a happy Christmas and a peaceful coming year.

—WRI News Service

## WORLD PACIFISTS

(From page one)

pecially if the Government took up basic education. He said Sevagram would close rather than accept it.

### The effects of defeat

Opening the discussion on pacifism in ex-totalitarian and occupied countries, Dr. Tomiko Kora said at least 1,300 Japanese religious pacifists were persecuted in Japan during the war.

Many delegates expressed doubt as to the source of the supposed spread of pacifism in Japan.

Dr. Kora referred to the unanimous decision of the Japanese Constituent Assembly that Japan should remain permanently an unarmed State. Nevin Sayre said his visit to Japan gave him the impression of a genuine desire to live at peace.

Dr. Amiya Chakravarty agreed that the American occupation might be the best in history, but the principle of occupation itself was wrong and even well-meant efforts were frustrated.

The billeting of foreigners on commandeered houses, the demoralisation of women and consequent tragedies of illegitimacy and other abuses of power were inseparable from military occupation and created bitterness.

He described the situation as "total paralysis" and thought the Japanese were cowed by force rather than converted to pacifism.

### Resistance movement criticised

Diderich Lund, speaking of the non-violent aspect of the Norwegian resistance movement, said it was best when carried out openly, as when teachers and ministers of religion openly preached against Nazism.

He thought the movement would have been better had they shown more friendliness to individual Germans and less obedience to orders.

The war had left bad effects on Norway—more anti-semitism, bitterness against Quislings and fear of Communism.

As regards China, Dr. Beauson Tseng said Chiang Kai-Shek had exempted Chinese students from military service and later all teachers and students. But pacifists had been subjected to much social persecution, for pacifism did not conform to the Confucian doctrine of "the mean," which repudiated all extreme opinions.

### When women laughed at soldiers

In the discussion on the pacifist situation in the West, Heinz Kraschutski recalled the defeat of General Kapp's attempt to seize the German Government by military force.

A complete general strike paralysed this military invasion, and Kapp's soldiers were laughed off the streets by the women of Berlin.

Dr. Walter Zander stressed the fact that German pacifists were the first victims of the Nazis and many suffered martyrdom. The persecution of the Jews came second to that of pacifists.

As one inspiring example of the spirit of reconciliation, he told how Chief Rabbi Beck of Berlin, who was in a concentration camp, is now devoting himself to relief work among the Arab refugees in Palestine.

## Prague Pacifists' struggle

PN Correspondent

IN Prague it is virtually impossible to organise anything, yet a young man I met recently in that city (he wishes to remain anonymous for the time being) has managed to gather together 42 young men and women whose aim it is to spread pacifism not only throughout Czechoslovakia but also neighbouring countries.

He started speaking to people about pacifism ten months ago, and has since found that opposition from the Gottwald administration varies from day to day. Sometimes he is hustled along to police headquarters for questioning, at other times he is allowed to hold open meetings in public.

Perhaps the greatest obstacle lies in the fact that the average Czech is highly suspicious of any new party, group or society, and prefers to exist half-uncomfortably under the Communist regime.

When the pacifist group was first formed there was no secretary, no chairman—in fact, none of the usual things connected with groups as a whole. It was thought to be dangerous to meet, so a monthly newsletter was passed round. Two newly-enrolled members were found to be police spies, though they did not find anything wrong in the discussions which were later held.

### Finding a meeting place

Under the Communists, youth clubs are sponsored and materially helped. My acquaintance tried to obtain permission to hold meetings at one of the new clubhouses at Prague, but was told that it would be impossible to have a representative of the police present at every meeting.

He held meetings in a park, and was promptly shooed away by the authorities. This "pillar-to-post" technique continued until he found a private house rented by one of the members from a police sergeant. But meetings are still regularly raided.

"We would like to get in touch with English and American peace workers," he explained to me. "We have no facilities, no printing press, nothing excepting talk. We do plenty of talking, but it is impossible to conduct any publicity campaigns to reach the people. For one thing we would never get a ration of paper for posters and pamphlets."

"The only thing we can count on is support from other countries. If their hopes are with us we will move mountains."

The position looks pretty hopeless, and unless restrictions on mail and the severe censorship are lifted, the only possible course open to that valiant group is to carry on as best they can for the time being.

### Will you be in the picture?

THE anti-conscription poster parade which takes place tomorrow (Saturday) is the last of the series organised by the London Area of the Peace Pledge Union to take place before Christmas.

Poster paraders and those willing to give out leaflets are asked to be at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. promptly at 10.30 so that a photo may be taken before the parade moves off.

Last week's parade, which attracted wide attention in the West End, had to be abandoned after one hour as a result of bad weather.



The words of this Roll (Zech. v.) which has been closed up and sealed, till the time of the end, are now revealed to mankind—because the time for the fulfilment of all things is now come. Every truth seeker should have this the most satisfying explanation of the Bible.

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Sybil Morrison's

## CAMPAIGN COLUMN

Walking down Fleet Street we are pretty sure to encounter more than one gentleman who will try to thrust an advertising bill into our hands. These bill distributors abound in the streets and they despise the rival profession of billposters, for as one of them has said, "Any man can stick a bill upon a wall, but to insinuate one gracefully into the hands of a lady or gentleman is only for one who is a natural genius adds long experience."

—"Ethics of Advertising," Bishop, Description of London, circa 1850.

MISREPRESENTATION of facts in the Press is becoming deplorably common and the ignorance of the uneducated, illiterate, and unthinking members of the public is continually exploited in national and local newspapers.

It is, unfortunately, only a small minority who are energetic and intelligent enough to search out from the welter of biased comment the real facts and make a judgement for themselves based upon those facts. But so far as pacifism is concerned today it is not misrepresentation so much as a complete, and apparently deliberate, boycott of pacifist views and activities by the national newspapers.

It was one of the main indictments against Hitler that the Germans were kept in ignorance of what went on outside their own country, and of everything inside apart from what their leaders decided it was good for them to know. The same accusation is levelled today against the Kremlin. But what of our own Press?

### Bad for the public?

In January this year at a meeting organised by the Campaign Committee in the Central Hall, London, there were on the platform six speakers whose names, in their own right, would have undoubtedly brought enough news value to command at least an inch of space in any newspaper. There were at that meeting about 30 Press representatives, but no single word about the meeting, nor of any subsequent speeches, appeared in the London press on the next day or on any subsequent day. Perhaps it is considered bad for the British public to know that some of its most distinguished exponents of the arts and science are pacifists!

Omitting to tell the truth is sometimes as dishonest and as deplorable in its results as telling a lie, and it is becoming increasingly obvious that if our message is to be known to the public it lies with pacifists themselves to break through the boycott.

One of the ways of reaching the public is through Peace News, which cannot, with its present circulation, compete with the dailies at the price of one penny. An increase of 10,000 would make possible a lower price and a real dent in Britain's Iron Curtain.

### New PPU leaflets

Then there are the PPU leaflets. These have been written to catch the eye in the same way as the newspaper headlines catch the eye; the subsequent reading matter is designed to capture the attention long enough to lead on to intelligent interest in the argument. I am frequently accused, not only by non-pacifists, but by my fellow pacifists, of over-simplifying the case; in order to make the first impact upon a public, deafened and bewildered with the din of hatred propaganda, it is necessary to address them in very simple language. This closely reasoned argument comes later.

On street corners, outside meetings, theatres and cinemas, these leaflets can be as they were in 1850, "gracefully insinuated" into the hands of the citizen of this country. This, of course, can only be achieved if there are willing hands to give, there are always many willing to receive.

There will be a good opportunity for leaflet distribution this Saturday in London when the third of the series of anti-conscription poster parades leaves. Dick Sheppard House at 10.30 a.m. Let London pacifists seize this occasion to reach through the Press boycott to the citizens of London.

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